DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 075 142 95 RC 006 922

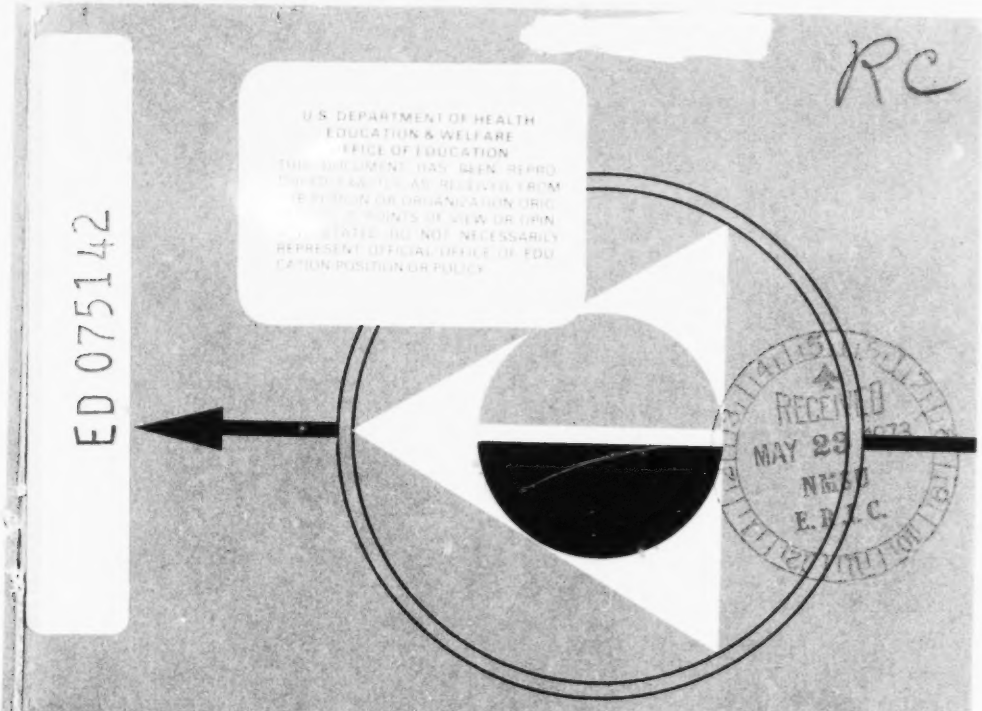
AUTHOR Forbes, Jack D.
TITLE The Education of the Culturally Different: A Multi-Cultural Approach. A Handbook for Educators.
INSTITUTION Far West Lab. for Educational Research and Development, Berkeley, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Lab. Branch.
PUB DATE Sep 69
NOTE 65p.; Revised edition
AVAILABLE FROM Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402 ($0.35)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; American Indians; Anglo Americans; Community Involvement; *Compensatory Education; *Cultural Differences; *Education; Heterogeneous Grouping; Individual Differences; *Low Income Groups; Mexican Americans; *Minority Groups; Negroes

ABSTRACT

It is important that the culturally different pupil be distinguished from the "culturally disadvantaged" student. Different does not necessarily mean disadvantaged; the mono-cultural orientation of schools in the United States has perhaps needlessly created educational disadvantages for all pupils. The reaction of educators to the problems of under-achievement and alienation as they relate to racial and cultural minority groups has in the past been to intensify the use of traditional approaches. However, the special educational problems of culturally different populations require a new approach, and the minority groups themselves have very definite ideas about how the school should react to multicultural situations. These groups believe that the culturally heterogeneous school is not totally dependent on pedagogical needs but must also be based on democracy and individual freedom. The problem of the education of the culturally different is the problem of educating all pupils in such a way that the school is both relevant to the individual and to the full heritage of the region and of the nation. A related document is ED 013 698. (PS)

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ED 075142

RECEIVED
MAY 23
NRC
E.R.I.C.

RC

EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT

A MULTI-CULTURAL APPROACH

A HANDBOOK FOR EDUCATORS

RC006922

This publication was prepared by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, a public, non-profit organization which is partially supported as a Regional Educational Laboratory through funds made available under contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the Office of Education should be inferred.

THE FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT was established through a Joint Powers Agreement in February, 1966, and has its headquarters in Berkeley, California. Present signatories include the Regents of the University of California, the California State Board of Education, the Trustees of the California State Colleges, the County Superintendent of Schools of the County of Monterey, the Board of Education of the San Francisco Unified School District, the Regents of the University of Nevada, the Nevada State Board of Education, the Regents of the University of Utah, the Utah State Board of Education.

First Edition, January 1968
Revised Edition, September 1969

Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development,
1 Garden Circle, Hotel Claremont, Berkeley, California 94705
(Telephone: (415) 841-9710)

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents,
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402
Price 35 Cents

THE EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT

A MULTI-CULTURAL APPROACH

Jack D. Forbes

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Educational Challenge of the Culturally Different and the Poor	5
The "Cultural Deprivation" Response	11
Mono-Cultural Schools and Multi-Cultural Society	15
The Special Educational Problems of Conquered Culturally-Different Populations	19
The Significance of Home and Community Development	24
Community Relevant Schools	28
Minority Group Viewpoints	35
General Principles for Educational Program Development	39
Democracy and Multi-Culturalism	43
Transmitting the Full Heritage of Americans	43
Suggestions for Personnel Training Programs	44
Suggestions for Teachers and Administrators	46
Bibliographical Essay	55

PREFACE

Increasing attention is currently being devoted to the problems of culturally different minority populations as they relate to formal educational processes. One purpose of this essay is to distinguish the concept of the culturally different pupil from that of the "culturally disadvantaged" and to explore the manner in which the mono-cultural orientation of schools in the United States has perhaps needlessly created educational disadvantages for all pupils. A remedy, in the form of multi-cultural, regionally relevant schools, is advocated.

A second purpose of the essay which follows is to introduce the reader to some of the general arguments which underlie the multi-cultural approach to education set forth in greater specific detail in Mexican-Americans: A Handbook for Educators, Afro-Americans in the Far West: A Handbook for Educators and other works prepared by the author. In a sense, then, The Education of the Culturally Different is intended to serve as an introduction to other studies being published by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development which focus upon specific ethnic minorities.

The field of the education of cultural minorities is a complex subject-area indeed, with vast amounts of pertinent data being produced by research in education, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and other disciplines. Understandably, a variety of viewpoints has existed among practicing educators as well as among scholars, ranging from favoring Anglo-American controlled mono-cultural, assimilationist programs to advocating minority-operated mono-cultural, anti-assimilationist programs. On the basis of his own understanding of social science theory as applicable to education, the author has chosen the middle-ground of suggesting a multi-cultural or cross-cultural strategy combined with other procedures designed to create a school relevant to the needs, and responsive to the wishes, of a given community.

The viewpoints expressed herein are not presented as dogma but rather as the result of an individual process of analysis and judgment and as stimuli for reaction and discussion. Needless to state, these viewpoints are not necessarily those of the various organizations making the publication of this essay possible.

Jack D. Forbes
FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The Educational Challenge of the Culturally Different and the Poor

The participation of urban Black youths of school-age in riots from Watts to New York, confrontations between Afro-American parents and white school boards from Oakland to Boston, school boycotts involving children of all ages, north and south, and increased concern and agitation on the part of Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans, all have recently served to focus attention upon the problem of the culturally different and the poor as they relate to educational programs in the United States. And concurrent with this evidence of "grass-roots" dissatisfaction, the compiling of statistics and research-derived data has served to focus attention upon the "educationally short-changed" sectors of the population.

Evidence that something is seriously wrong with education as it involves racial and cultural minorities and low-income groups has been mounting for years. Decades ago, scholars such as Herschel T. Manuel and Paul S. Taylor documented the plight of the Mexican-American scholastic, but the "establishment" paid little heed. Scholars and leaders familiar with American Indians and Afro-Americans have been concerned with these groups' special educational needs for more than a century; and concern with weakness in traditional programs has been mounting for years. But it has

taken the so-called "Negro Revolt" of the last decade, the recent "discovery" of the poor, and the launching of "New Frontier" and "Great Society" programs to force educators to take a new look at old assumptions.

Major periodicals, such as The New York Times, continually reflect the growing consensus that seems to be developing among the intellectual and governmental leadership of the nation. These groups increasingly seem to agree that the major current target for educational change consists in upgrading the schooling of low-income and culturally different children. R. Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, expressed remarks typical of this growing concern when he asserted that the present elementary school system was "critically inadequate to meet the needs of children of poverty." Worried about the long-term impact of "headstart" pre-school programs apparently being frustrated by poor follow-up kindergarten and first grade teaching, Shriver noted that Headstart is "a short-term experience, and a shot of educational adrenalin whose effects can wear off in the grinding boredom and frustration of slum classrooms." The "War on Poverty" director then called for a "Project Keep Moving" to transform slum classrooms, grade by grade (The New York Times, November 20, 1966, p.1).

Similar sentiments are echoed by leaders of varying background. James E. Allen, Jr., New York State Education Commissioner, recently told the New York City Board of Education that it

must improve schools in the slums immediately. Later he urged educators from a number of states, assembling for a meeting in New York City, to consider the following topics (The New York Times, Nov. 28, 1966, p. 1, 42):

> What kind of schools will turn the tide of hope in the ghettos? What patterns of cooperation involving whites, negroes, business, industry, labor and government can rejuvenate slum-area schools? What can be done to assure parents in slum areas of a more meaningful role in the schools and the education of their children?

Recently a conference sponsored by the Association on American Indian Affairs Education Committee condemned the educational situation in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. "Thousands of American Indian children in Government-run schools are becoming hopeless 'no-culture people'," they said, and their executive director, William Byler, described the situation as "criminal." Indian children are not learning anything about the positive aspects of Indian history, said Mrs. Mary Lou Payne, a Cherokee, and the Rev. John F. Bryde, Jesuit superintendent of Holy Rosary Indian Mission, asserted that there has been a drastic rise in mental health problems among Indians in recent years, partly because "he is not effectively identified with his Indian heritage, nor can he identify with the hostile, white world facing him." (The New York Times, Nov. 21, 1966, p. 38). Similarly, scholars attending the American Anthropological Association's 1966 meeting condemned current practices in poverty-area schools and called for changes which will be discussed below.

Finally, Congress and federal agencies have recognized the importance of providing better educational opportunities for the culturally different and the poor by establishing a maze of new programs of an educational nature funded through the Office of Education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Interior Department, and the Department of Defense.

The statistics are, of course, very alarming. That 67.6 percent of Negroes are failing the Selective Service mental tests (ranging from 25 percent in Washington to 86 percent in South Carolina) is an indication of one of the practical results of educational-societal failure. School drop-out rates are another indication of failure, and these are notoriously high for American Indians (50 percent), urban Negroes, Mexican-Americans, and mainland Puerto Ricans. Although progress can be cited in recent years, the median school years completed for Indians twenty-five and older in Elko County, Nevada, stands at 7.9 years and for all non-whites in Nevada at 8.8 years (compared with 12.2 years for whites). Almost seventeen percent of the Indian adults in Elko County have never been to school while only 0.7 percent of Nevada whites are totally without school experience. More than five percent of Nevada non-whites, as a whole, have never been to school (Elmer Rusco, Minority Groups in Nevada, 1966). The average educational level (years of schooling) for American Indians nationally stands at five years (The New York Times, Nov. 21, 1966, p. 38, Dec. 4, 1966, p. 62).

As regards Mexican-Americans, Dr. Julian Samora (Southwest Conference Proceedings, April 6, 1963, p. 19) has noted that "they lag behind the non-whites and the Anglos regardless of what measure of educational achievement is used." A recent Progress Report of the UCLA Mexican-American Study Project (November, 1966) has noted that the gap between Anglo- and Mexican-Americans is narrowing but that the latter have five years less schooling if over twenty-five years of age and four years less if over fourteen years of age.

But perhaps of greater significance in illustrating the dimensions of the problem of the culturally different is the suggestion that the quality of the five to nine years of school to which they are ordinarily exposed is probably significantly poorer than that experienced by the majority Anglo-American population. Murray Wax, Rosalie Wax, and Robert Dumont in their study of education on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation constantly advance the thesis that although Indian children may remain in school for a certain number of years, the last few years especially are educationally worthless and psychologically destructive. A symptom of this process is "the 'withdrawal' or 'lack of response' of pupils in the late elementary grades and the high school" cited as their greatest problem by Pine Ridge Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers.

The phenomenon of gradual alienation or "withdrawal" is also a noticeable experience in slum schools. James B. Conant (Slums and Suburbs, p. 26) quotes a Negro teacher as saying, "We do quite

well with those children in the lower grades . . . . But when they reach about 10, 11, or 12 years of age, we lose them. At that time the 'street' takes over. In terms of schoolwork, progress ceases; indeed many pupils begin to go backward in their studies!" I. N. Berlin (Saturday Review, Oct. 15, 1966, p. 79), in working with largely non-Anglo delinquent high school students in San Francisco, noted that "their hate for their white teachers and other staff often seemed overwhelming."

Achievement test results also demonstrate that not only are non-Anglo groups exposed to fewer years of formal schooling than are Anglos, but that the level of achievement involved is much inferior. The Berkeley Unified School District in California contrasted test results from ghetto (Negro) schools with those of white schools in 1964 and uniformly the scores in predominantly non-white schools fell far below the white schools on both third and sixth grade tests.

Thus we may assert that while minority group youngsters are being exposed to a year or two of schooling more than were their parents, it is questionable that the "educational gap," in a qualitative sense, is being narrowed. The results of Selective Service tests, in-depth studies of specific schools, and other data not cited here would tend to indicate that the "gap" is as great as ever and may, in fact, be widening for some groups. The problem presented by the education of the culturally different is still very much an issue in our society.

The "Cultural Deprivation" Response

The reaction of educators to the problem of under-achievement, alienation, and "withdrawal" as it relates to racial and cultural minority groups has been, in general, to intensify the use of traditional approaches and to focus the "blame" for failure upon the minority group. The concepts of "culturally disadvantaged youth" and "culturally deprived youth" have been coined and they serve to suggest that the minority group pupil and his family are at fault. The pupil and his subculture should be manipulated, this line of approach suggests, while the traditional school is, in effect, a finished product which has served majority group pupils well and should, therefore not be seriously challenged. Minority groups must adjust, must conform, must change while the schools and their programs are basically sound and need no fundamental revision. As Reginald W. Major, former Chairman of the Education Committee of the San Francisco NAACP, has noted (The Nation, Sept. 12, 1966):

> By accepting the premise of cultural deprivation, school administrators and school boards delude themselves and the public into believing that special programs designed to compensate for an inadequate home environment are all that is needed.

Operation Headstart, the National Teacher Corps, and "compensatory" education programs are generally based upon the above assumption: that increased exposure to any school environment coupled with an intensified remedial approach will solve or at

least ameliorate the problems of the "culturally deprived." This assumption may, however, be totally erroneous. The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children recently reported to President Lyndon Johnson on the effectiveness of 250 million dollars worth of summer education projects aimed at the poor, and their study was reported as "gloomy."

> For the most part, projects are piecemeal, fragmented or vaguely directed enrichment. It is extremely rare to find strategically planned, comprehensive programs for change. . . .

Most of the programs

> took place in ordinary schoolhouse classrooms and were, at best, mild variations on ordinary classroom work. . . . [In a southern city] the program was as uncreative and unimaginative as I have ever seen. Pupils . . . dropped out in large numbers. Several teachers indicated that they felt that any kind of help which might be offered would not significantly change most of these kids.

Some of the programs were ingenious and sophisticated but

> the aggregate of local efforts do not yet reflect a widely accepted strategy for creating a new, more effective educational climate for disadvantaged children. (The New York Times, Dec. 1, 1966, p. 38)

It may be that those who wish to deal effectively with the culturally different child will have to revise their thinking about which end of the school-pupil continuum is "disadvantaged." Are "disadvantaged" pupils attending "advantaged" schools taught by "culturally enriched" teachers? Or is it possible that some culturally different pupils are more "enriched" than their "culturally deprived" teachers and schools, or that all are "deprived"--schools, pupils, and teachers?

"Cultural deprivation" is not a new concept. For at least a century it has been an expression of Anglo-American racism, chauvinism, and superiority. On the assumption that American Indian groups were "backward" or "savage," young Indians were taken away from their parents and indoctrinated in white middle-class cultural values. The Indian child was assumed to have no culture, except in terms of "savage" customs which had to be uprooted. The middle-class missionaries, secular or otherwise, were to civilize the aborigines by "giving" them a culture. The Waxes and Dumont (Education in an American Indian Community, Social Problems monograph, 1964) describe the use of this "cultural vacuum" doctrine as it is being applied today to both Indian and non-Indian children:

> Especially in the slums inhabited by ethnic minorities the tensions of urban schools are markedly similar to those [at Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation] . . . . Urban educators are isolated from the cultural and social milieux of their pupils, as are reservation counterparts. Knowing little of their pupil's life, and terrified or appalled by what they do discover, they justify their avoidance with a 'vacuum ideology' of cultural deficiency and deprivation which ignores or derogates the values and knowledge that the pupils have acquired in their homes and neighborhoods.

The concept of "cultural deprivation" as it has frequently been used is simply a belief that non-Anglo minority groups do not possess a "culture" which can be utilized or enhanced by the schools. The children of the minority group are "deprived" because they are not carriers of the Anglo-middle-class heritage and the task of the school is to make up for this "deficiency." Or to put it another way, the school is to be used as a device for "assimilation,"

i.e., to make the United States a homogeneous nation of multi-hued Anglo-Americans.

"Cultural deprivation," in short, is not merely an insult to the Mexican-American, Indian, Chinese-American, et cetera, but is also a continuation of the missionary urge of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants ("Wasps") to demonstrate the superiority of their culture by making everybody else over into their own image. Is it not a form of "cultural imperialism" made possible by the sheer political and economic dominance of the Anglo-American majority?

Not all educators who seek to force the culturally different student into an Anglo middle-class mold do so, however, because of a conscious desire to implement a superiority complex or because of a compulsive monocultural prejudice. Many have simply never thought of the United States as a culturally heterogeneous nation and, secondly, assume that minority groups must conform in order to compete in an Anglo-dominant society. But the reality of American life points in a different direction. The Chinese-American who speaks only English and who has lost contact with the Chinese community is not <u>better</u> equipped to "make a living." On the contrary, he is competitively inferior to the Chinese-American who possesses a dual culture and who can operate successfully either on "Main Street U.S.A." or in "Chinatown," and this is to say nothing of the advantages that a bicultural Chinese-American has in the qualitative areas of life (access to a dual heritage in literature, philosophy, and art, for example) or in securing

academic or governmental jobs which require two or more languages.

Mono-Cultural Schools and Multi-Cultural Society

Educators seem often to operate in a mythical world created by the nature of their own middle-class contacts. Having little to do with non-Anglos or low-income people generally, they assume that the possession of Anglo middle-class skills and values will, in effect, function successfully everywhere and at every level of life. Anglo educators in much of the southwest live, for example, in self-created Anglo oases, cut off from the Indian-Mexican reality around them. They and their fellow migrants from the Middle West or South have created middle-class spatial and attitudinal ghettos which have little meaningful contact with at least large portions of the surrounding population. But the educator fails to suspect that it may be his culture which is alien and regionally irrelevant and, therefore, he attempts to train young Navajos, Hopis, and Mexican-Americans to be middle-class Anglos. What kind of a social context will most of these non-Anglos have to make their living in? Certainly not an Anglo middle-class one!

Similarly, it is naive to assume that the majority of Afro-Americans will spend most of their time from now on in middle-class settings. Urban or rural, the average Black is going to continue for some time to be living in essentially a Black culture, both in socio-cultural and economic terms. And, in any case a Black youth

has to maintain good relations with his family, relatives, and Black contemporaries while growing up; and he does this, and will continue to do this, through the medium of his own culture. The schoolman who seeks to remake the young Black (as a century of pedagogues from the New England schoolmarm-reformer of the Reconstruction Era to the modern Anglo principal in a ghetto school have tried) must not ignore the realities of Black American life and, above all, must not regard the Afro-American subculture as simply a tragic, but temporary, inconvenience to be gradually eliminated. Ultimately the Black community as a whole will have more to say about this question than any group of educators, black or white.

More telling than any other argument is, however, the fact that Anglo middle-class people have had their own way for at least a century. Negroes, Indians, Mexican-Americans and other racial-cultural minorities have been guinea-pigs for "experiments" in monocultural, monolingual, "vacuum ideology," "compensatory" education for as many as five or more generations, and the record is not one to inspire confidence. What is needed today is not simply more and more of the same in greater doses (that has been tried before also) but a completely different conception of the function of the school and of its relationship to cultural heterogeneity.

In a recent article (Saturday Review, October 15, 1966), Theresa M. Miller, a clinical psychologist, states:

It is obvious even to the untrained observer that when large

> numbers of children reject education and fail to learn the skills necessary for success in a society, there is evidence of maladjustment. There is some question, however, about where to find the primary patient. Is it always the child?

There are many scholars and laymen who would answer in the negative, as does Nathaniel Hickerson (Education for Alienation, Prentice-Hall, 1966).

> The inability of affluent-oriented teachers in American society to understand or cope with the behavior of children from economically deprived families is often of paramount importance in alienating those children from the public schools. It is this clash of value commitments that, more than any other factor, drives our Negro, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian, and economically deprived Caucasian children out of the school and into the street. . . . They have been attacked at the point of great vulnerability, their own value structure.

Hickerson goes on to describe the process of pupil failure, as he sees it. First, the child is classified as a "slow learner" and assigned to a remedial program.

> All that is needed now to complete their isolation from affluent American society is to be driven away from the schools by a frontal attack upon their own systems of self-esteem and their most powerful commitments. . . . Commitments to family is belonging to something. . . . If their customs and habits are challenged by school and teacher, the children are placed in the position of having to choose between the ways of their families and a whole new set of suppositions. . . . Either father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, grandparents, friends, neighbors and their world is right, or the world of school and teacher is right.

Dr. Eleanor Leacock of Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, after completing a study of slum education, reported that

> the staggering inequalities we have found in the New York school system are caused, in large measure, by the inadequate understanding of children from low-income groups (The New York Times, Nov. 19, 1966, p. 22).

The Waxes and Dumont state that "given the abdication of their

elders, and confronting teachers across a gulf of difference in age and culture, the slum [and reservation] pupils organize themselves into a cohesive society" which is anti-school establishment.

> The gulf between educators and pupils is deepened by differences in language or dialect of English. The children are subjected to courses designed to teach them a dialect of English that is considered 'correct' by pedagogues, but since few of the latter have any skill in linguistics or have the assistance of . . . electronic equipment . . . the course-work is usually more productive of classroom tension than of learning.

The monocultural Anglo-American school is not merely alien to the cultural realities of many regions and communities, but it may well serve as a major cause for tensions which thwart the avowed educational goals of the school and at the same time produce "alumni" unfitted for participation in any culture.

What have been the reactions of minority groups to the "little Anglo schoolhouse"? For many years, the typical school was both Anglo-American and Protestant. This type of school was rejected by Irish and other Roman Catholics in favor of a separate school system, many schools of which had (and still have) an Irish, Polish or other ethnic flavor. Still other groups, such as Finns and Swedes, took over the public schools in areas where they were predominant and altered their character somewhat. Oriental and Jewish-Americans either set up their own schools or, more commonly, established supplementary schools where Chinese language and culture, Japanese language and culture, or Hebrew language and culture would be made available to the youth of the community. Afro-American, Indian, and Mexican-American groups have sometimes done the same thing, but usually on

an informal folk-group or "ad hoc" basis.

The trend, in other words, is clear. Group after group has been forced to establish its "own" educational institution and, in effect, repudiate the public schools. The only limitations upon this development have been the group's economic and educational ability and the receptivity of the local public school to multicultural reality. To establish one's own schools demands adequate financing and the availability of suitable teachers, but it also depends upon the existence of demonstrated need. Where the public school comes under the control of a non-Anglo group, or where a spirit of cosmopolitanism develops for one reason or another, the separate supplementary school may be deemed superfluous. In much of the United States, unfortunately, educational cosmopolitanism has never "arrived" and separate educational programs flourish.

The Special Educational Problems of Conquered Culturally-Different Populations

All too often educators, legislators, social workers and others concerned with the socio-educational problems of minority populations have made the error of dealing with each such population as a completely unique group or have made the equally great error of lumping all such populations together. Both of these approaches have tended to impede educational progress, since the first leads to a concentration upon symptomatic behavior and fails to ellucidate underlying general, fundamental causes, while the second approach serves to

confuse the inexpert, since the groups being lumped together are not always truly comparable.

It is this writer's opinion that the behavior of culturally-different minority populations must be examined apart from that of culturally-similar minority populations, i.e., one must not lump together the circumstances of English-speaking Scots living as immigrants in England with Pakistanis living as immigrants in England. The differences of religion, language, dress, customs, et cetera (quite apart from skin-color) exhibited by Pakistanis as compared with that of the English are of a different order from the distinctive aspects of Scottish culture as compared with that of the English.

Similarly, the behavior of conquered culturally-different populations must be examined separately from that of culturally-different minorities who have either never been conquered or who have at least experienced no modern conquest of any great degree of intensity.

Social scientists concerned with American Indian and other folk-tribal groups have long been impressed by the psychologically devastating effects of conquest, particularly of a severe or intensive conquest. More recently, persons from other disciplines who have become involved in overseas development projects or in rural or urban slum development have been forced to recognize that conquered populations are not just "ordinary" populations but that they possess special psychological handicaps stemming directly from the "cultural

shock" of long-term denigration. Conquest, especially when considered in both its military and colonialist phases, is in essence one of the most intensive forms of denigration capable of being implemented against an entire group of people.

Conquered populations who experience a harsh military conquest coupled with systematic efforts to destroy their native heritage and institutions tend to develop such behavioral characteristics as apathy, indifference, lack of motivation, alienation, negative self-image, internal factionalism, alcoholism, and, in some instances, suicidism. These characteristics are understandable within the context of a colonial system which deprives such groups of the power to manage their own affairs, which seeks to destroy their institutions, and which, consciously in many cases, attempts to denigrate the heritage, language, religion, et cetera, of the conquered group.

The United States possesses within its boundaries a number of culturally different, minority populations which have experienced a situation of conquest either prior to entering the United States or within the latter's territory. These groups, including American Indians, Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Filipino-Americans suffer from educational problems which, it is suggested, cannot be understood without reference to the fact of being conquered and being forced to exist as relatively powerless, colonialized populations for many generations.

As a part of the conquest, whatever educational institutions exist within the native heritage are destroyed either by outright

prohibition or by teaching the youth to reject their culture's own values and spokesmen. Whatever schools are made available to the conquered population are cast entirely in the mold of the alien, dominant society and are controlled by outsiders. In addition, such schools are (or have been, in the case of the United States) notoriously inferior in quality and tend to be oriented towards producing a rural (or, occasionally, urban) proletariat.

It is not at all surprising that youth derived from such populations do not do well in school, considering the facts that 1) the home and minority community have often lost the ability to maintain their own educational programs; 2) the schools belong to an alien culture; 3) the schools are controlled entirely (or essentially, in some instances) by powerful outsiders; 4) the curricula is "stacked" against the pupils; 5) the pupils and their parents feel powerless and/or alienated in relation to the school; and 6) the minority community tends to exhibit apathy or indifference towards the educational objectives of the dominant culture.

The problems of conquered culturally-different populations are not the same as those of culturally-different immigrant groups who are able, even though being objects of discrimination, to preserve relatively intact their own social organization, educational institutions, family-clan structure, and, most significantly of all, pride, strong sense of positive identity, and control over their own group destiny. For instance, the Chinese-American community in Hawaii

and California came to these areas with its traditional culture intact, with no experience of conquest (since the Anglo-Chinese War of 1848 had failed to penetrate to interior China and had led to no foreign occupation), with tremendous pride, with an enduring tradition of folk education uninterrupted, and with control over its own destiny in an important sense. Discrimination and/or poverty often forced Chinese individuals to restrict their activities to certain spheres, but within those spheres they were largely free to do what they pleased. The Chinese in Hawaii and California were not placed under the permanent control of powerful alien institutions, such as a bureaucratic agency or an all-embracing plantation system. But it is especially important to stress the fact that Chinese cultural institutions were not destroyed, because it was these institutions which made possible the ongoing self-development of the Chinese-American community.

In the case of American Indians, Native Hawaiians, and Afro-Americans, on the other hand, native institutions were destroyed and the people were subjected to a long, coercive period of colonial exploitation. In the case of Mexican-Americans and Filipino-Americans, though, the experience of conquest with its destruction of traditional viability occurred prior to immigration to the United States, in most instances, but this has been reinforced by a conquest culture in the United States.

Quite obviously, a school desiring to better meet the needs of pupils from such populations cannot hope to solve all of the

educationally-relevant problems involved since so many of the latter stem from the realities of the extra-school environment. However, it is suggested that a school can contribute to educational progress by 1) providing minority adults with a proportional share of real power over the school, 2) involving minority adults in the life of the school at every opportunity, 3) developing a multi-cultural, bi-lingual, community-relevant curricula. 4) doing everything possible to integrate the school into the culture and life of the minority community, 5) avoiding elitist procedures which serve to show disrespect for the community, and 6) questioning every facet of the school's program to determine if it is culturally neutral or biased in the direction of the dominant culture, and, if the latter is the case, if it is really an educational necessity from the viewpoint of that particular community's ongoing developmental needs.

The Significance of Home and Community Development

Numerous efforts have in the past been made to improve the quality of formal education available to minority pupils. Innovative efforts range from the "Indian industrial boarding school" and "intensive acculturation" approach of Colonel Richard Pratt after the Civil War to contemporary "saturated service" compensatory efforts such as More Effective Schools. None of these compensatory efforts, when instituted by outsiders (i.e., by non-minority persons), have been unequivocably successful (for a discussion of MES see

The Center Forum, November 4, 1967, pp. 3-4 and The New Republic, September 23, 1967, p.18).

There are undoubtedly many reasons for the failure of intensive compensatory education efforts but doubtless the most fundamental is that they are confined to the school as an institutional setting when there is good evidence that the school is perhaps less significant as an instrument for enculturation or acculturation than is the home and community. Paul F. Brandwein has asserted that

> "for the first five (5) years of life... parents must be considered, in the most precise use of the term, as teachers of children....evidence points to these five (5) years at home as most significant, if not the most significant years, in the child's life ("Memorandum: Concerning a 'New' School System," ms., 1967)."

The Coleman Report (Equality of Educational Opportunity) would seem to clearly indicate that the background and non-school environment of the child is a powerful element in determining educational success or failure, while other research serves to show that some pupils possess "disadvantages" upon entering school which the school is never able to overcome (e.g., see Y. T. Witherspoon, "The Measurement of Indian Children's Achievement in the Academic Tool Subjects," University of Utah Bureau of Indian Services).

Educational researchers have long been aware that in most cases there is a positive correlation between socioeconomic status (SES) and measured intellectual ability (see, for example, Havighurst and Dreese, Journal of Educational Psychology, v.38,1947, pp.241-247).

Cushna points out that

> the educational process itself as well as the entire socioeconomic spectrum depends upon the effectiveness of social interaction. The higher a family is upon the SES scale, the more child rearing efforts are invested in teaching the child the social graces, the ability to know how to meet the right people, and to say the right thing at the right time ("Some affiliative correlates of social class," 1966 ms.).

Another study indicates that

> Age does not appear to be a significant factor in the Stanford-Binet performance of Negro American children from ages 7 through 10; however, marital status of the mother and her educational level exhibit important relationship to the children's performance.
>
> These environmental factors appear to be more crucial at ages nine and ten than at the younger age levels of seven and eight.
>
> Finally, the above conclusions suggest that the intellectual development of minority and disadvantaged children would benefit from action directed toward stabilizing their total family situation at an early age. (Roberts, Dickerson, and Horton, "Performance of Negro American Children Ages 7-10 on the Stanford-Binet by Selected Background Factors," American Psychological Association, Sept. 2, 1966,ms.).

The significance of family and community background can be vividly observed in the academic success of Chinese-American pupils attending the same or similar schools attended by unsuccessful Indian, Mexican-American, or Black pupils. The difference in achievement can <u>not</u> be explained by the school but must rest in the strength and orientation of the Chinese-American family and in the Chinese language and cultural schooling received by the young people at home or in Chinese-operated private schools attended after public school hours. The

same phenomena is observed with middle-class Negro children as contrasted with poor Negro children, wealthy Latin American children as contrasted with the children of migrant farm laborers, et cetera.

It is clear that compensatory programs will fail when they are confined to the school since the school, as now organized, can have little impact upon the home and minority community. On the other hand, the Chinese-American experience would seem to indicate that a proud, viable ethnic minority community, with its own supplementary educational organs, can protect its youth from the negative influence of mediocre or poor schools.

James Coleman, in his Equality of Educational Opportunity, Reconsidered, states that

> it seems clear that the appropriate measure for studying equality of educational opportunity lies in both dimensions: in the distribution of school resources, and the intensity of their effect. Only if their distribution was fully equal, and the intensity of their effect was infinitely great relative to the divergent out-of-school factors, would there be complete equality of opportunity. Since the latter cannot be the case, then it can hardly be even appropriate to speak of "equality of educational opportunity," but rather to speak instead of the amount of inequality. In a system with equal resource distribution, but with less than infinite intensity of effects, there remains a degree of inequality--an inequality of opportunity not arising from the school system, but arising outside and not overcome by the school system.

The above, of course, overlooks the problem that "equal resource distribution" within the schools may exist quantitatively and yet

qualitatively the school's programs may in fact be highly biased in favor of one segment of the population. Nonetheless, it does point out the fact that factors beyond the control of the formal educational system are operative and must be dealt with.

It should be stressed, however, that an attempt to change the minority home and community by paternalistic-elitist reformers (whether white or non-white) is not to be advocated. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has often attempted to change Indian people during the past century, with largely disastrous results. On the other hand, a "community development" approach which emphasizes minority participation in educational and non-educational programs will, it is believed, contribute gradually to the diminishing of negative non-school factors.

It should be borne in mind that the negative aspects of minority community life, as regards education, stem largely from being conquered, powerless people long denied the right to influence school policy. This problem cannot be resolved by procedures which would further strengthen feelings of powerlessness. Community-involvement in decision-making and implementation is to be suggested as the key resource available to school personnel.

Community-Relevant Schools

It is quite common nowadays for writers to assert, as Conant does, that

> the nature of the community largely determines what goes on in the school. Therefore, to attempt to divorce the school from the community is to engage in unrealistic thinking.... The community and the school are inseparable.

Likewise, it is the fashion to stress the establishment of "rapport" between the school and its clients in order to enhance pupil motivation. Frank E. Karelsen, vice-president of the Public Education Association and a member of the National Advisory Council for the Education of Disadvantaged Children, states:

> The most important element in the education of a child is the rapport between the child and the teacher. The parent-teacher relationship is vital to the development of the rapport. It is imperative to the educative process that parents and schools establish a close and on-going working relationship (The New York Times, October 17, 1966, p. 34).

The council of which Karelsen is a member found that the most important single factor which distinguished successful summer "compensatory" programs from those that failed "was the difference in the quality of the relationship--the rapport--between teacher and child" (The New York Times, December 1, 1966, p. 38). Conant states: "Above all, the total school experience should be such, if possible, to anchor the boy's or girl's interest in the school and in improving his or her capacity through education."

But how does one make "inseparable" the non-Anglo "community" and the Anglo-dominated school? How does one establish "rapport" between students and teachers essentially at war with each other's values? The Waxes and Dumont suggest:

> The test of the school is not what its masters teach, but rather the atmosphere it creates, such that children do learn the significant subject matters from each other instead of devoting their energies principally to the inhibition of scholarly learning. . . . one crucial condition for the creation of this educational atmosphere [is] namely a relationship of mutual respect between teachers and pupils. . . .

Goodwin Watson ("Foreword" to Frank Riessman's The Culturally Deprived Child, Harper & Row, 1962) states that the starting point for improving the teaching of urban slum children is respect. "Nothing else that we have to give will help very much if it is offered with a resentful, contemptuous, or patronizing attitude."

The Waxes and Dumont provide an example of how "respect" and understanding might help:

> If educational specialists were thoroughly familiar with Sioux culture and willing to improvise experimental programs with the children and their parents, they might be able to devise educational materials and techniques that would result in high rates of scholastic achievement. . . . [At present] the educators believe the Sioux children are so lacking in culture that they cannot master scholastic materials, and the children regard the teachers and their subject matters as "White" and hence legitimate targets of their hostility and indifference.

Anthropologists at a recent (1966) meeting of the American Anthropological Association

> disputed the widespread assumption that children from poor neighborhoods had such limited cultural resources that they almost inevitably would achieve low grades in school. Instead, they argued that school should make more vigorous efforts to bring out the rich heritage of folk culture, especially among Negro and Puerto Rican children. This heritage is often hemmed in. . . . by classroom conditions that are too impersonal or geared to the standards of children from more affluent homes (The New York Times, Nov. 19, 1966, p. 22).

This position would seem to be borne out by a recent study of language in the Pittsburg slums which revealed that slum children there used 3,200 words, including idioms, not recognized by their teachers or by educational tests. The creation of these idioms is illustrative of the cultural vitality (and cultural separateness) of the urban poor, and offers a challenge for those teachers who can translate the slum language into formal linguistic channels (Reno Evening Gazette, August 24, 1966, p.28).

The Association on American Indian Affairs Education Committee has proposed that "far greater emphasis" be placed on Indian values and history [in order] to give the children pride in their own race." The Association's director, William Byler, also called for "turning control of schools over to the various Indian tribes as long as they meet state and federal educational requirements" (The New York Times, November 21, 1966, p. 38).

Frank E. Karelsen, cited earlier, has proposed that

> at the policy making level, parents must be represented in the over-all planning for the school in a joint planning board composed of an equal representation of parents and professional staff [but he would reserve control over personnel and curriculum to the professional staff].

In a similar vein, Sargent Shriver has called for the creation of "neighborhood councils and community associations, outside of parent-teacher groups, that would get parents involved in the activities of every public school."

As regards Indian education specifically it is necessary to stress that only two formal educational systems have ever been successful, and both of these were operated by Indians and arose out of Indian needs. Until the late 1890's the Choctaw Republic operated its own school systems in Mississippi and Oklahoma, developing about 200 schools and academies and sending numerous graduates to eastern colleges.

> As a result of its excellent public-school system the Choctaw Nation had a much higher proportion of educated people than any of the neighboring states; the number of college graduates one encounters in any contemporary record is surprising, and the quality of written English used by the Choctaw both in their official and private correspondence is distinctly superior to that of the white people surrounding them (Angie Debo, The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic, p. 242).

The Cherokee Republic developed a similar school system which was also quite successful.

> It has been estimated that Cherokees were 90% literate in their native language in the 1830's. By the 1880's the Western Cherokee (Oklahoma) had a higher English literacy level than the white population of either Texas or Arkansas.... Since the federal government took over the Cherokee school system (with coercion) in 1898, Cherokees have viewed the school as a white man's institution....over which....parents have no control.... it seems clear that the startling decline during the past sixty years of both English and Cherokee literacy in the Cherokee tribe is chiefly the result of recent scarcity of reading materials in Cherokee and of the fact that learning to read has become associated with coercive instruction, particularly in the context of an alien and threatening school presided over by (non-Cherokees).... As far as Cherokee society is concerned, we have historical evidence that Cherokees can learn to read both English and Cherokee and that most of them have ceased to do so (Willard Walker, "An Experiment in Programmed Cross-Cultural Education," 1965).

These programs were both brought to an end by the United States government. The schools subsequently operated for Cherokees and Choctaws by federal and Oklahoma state agencies have been typical "Indian schools," with little or no parent-community involvement. They have had, as Walker attests, a negative impact.

Contemporary research findings relative to Indian education point up the necessity for a close relationship between school and home, in view especially of the psychological problems which accompany culture change. As John F. Bryde has pointed out: "It seems unanimous in the literature of the social scientists that mental health problems usually accompany most culture changes." Bryde's studies of white and Indian pupils in the same school showed that the

> Indian group revealed greater personality disruption and poorer adjustment. Notable among the more meaningful variables were: feeling of rejection, depression, anxiety, and tendencies to withdraw plus social, self, and emotional alienation.

Eighth-grade Indians

> revealed themselves as feeling caught and carried along by circumstances beyond their control, hence they were more rejected, depressed, paranoid, withdrawn, and alienated from themselves and the others.... The centrality of the concept of alienation is suggested as the integrating pattern explaining the behavior of the Indian students studied (John F. Bryde, "Indian Education and Mental Health," 1967 ms.).

Recent unpublished findings of Bernard Spilka have confirmed Bryde's analysis and have shown a close correlation between degree of "alienation" and lack of achievement. Similarly, the Coleman Report identifies the feeling of "powerlessness" as being closely correlated with negative achievement among Negro pupils.

William H. Kelly, a very experienced researcher in Indian education, recently stated:

> The recognition of the place of the parent and of the community in the total process of socializing and educating Indian children is implicit in almost all (current) research (in Indian education) and is explicit (in some).
>
> In every descriptive statement of the behavior of Indian children, attention is drawn to the psychological consequences inherent in the discontinuities that exist between the home environment and the school environment. The situation can be corrected to some extent through teacher training, changes in the attitudes of educators, and curriculum changes....
>
> The solution of fundamental problems of value orientations and biculturalism, however, will require more than research. It will require the kind of participation in, and understanding of, the educational process on the part of Indian parents and leaders that will permit intelligent control of the destiny of their children after they enter school (William H. Kelly, "Current Research on American Indian Education: A Critical Review of Ongoing Studies," 1967).

The recommendations contained in the "Bundy Report" to the New York City Schools reflect the same philosophy, in that

> The central purpose of [its recommendations] is to reconnect all the parties with an interest in the public schools of New York so that each will have more constructive power... parents and neighbors shape the child's attitude. If peers and family regard the school as an alien, unresponsive, or ineffective institution in their midst, the child will enter school in a mood of distrust, apprehension, or hostility.... If, on the other hand, the community regards the school as an agency in which they can identify, which acknowledges a responsibility for pupils achievement-- in short as their own-- children will enter the school with positive expectations.

The ultimate test of a successful school system or educational institution is perhaps not so much the measurement of the progress of individual students along some arbitrarily-conceived curricular path,

but rather how the communities served by that system or institution have enhanced their own lives, individually and collectively, because of the presence of that educational system. The Cherokee and Choctaw schools before 1890 were successful in that they arose from the felt needs of the Indian people themselves, attempted to meet those needs, and served as integral parts of the Indian society and culture. Most schools serving minorities today are in fact alien extra-cultural institutions controlled by powerful outsiders. These schools cannot meet the needs of on-going community self-development because they exist outside of the community, in a socio-cultural sense, and cannot effectively communicate with the people being served.

Finally, it is interesting that the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has recommended that an important objective of programs affecting urban ghettoes should be

> removing the frustration of powerlessness among the disadvantaged by providing the means for them to deal with the problems that affect their own lives, and by increasing the capacity of our public and private institutions to respond to these problems.

These words sum up, in one important sense, the objectives of a community-responsive approach to education.

Minority Group Viewpoints

The minority groups themselves have very definite ideas about how the school should react to multicultural situations.

Mrs. Adelina Toledo Defender, a twenty-six year old Jemez Pueblo woman, speaks for many Indians when she states in Indian Voices (August, 1966):

> First of all and most important of all is to understand the cultural background of our wonderful Indian students ....Most teachers may not be aware of it, but most do discriminate against the Indian child. Most feel that here is a hopeless individual; this child cannot be educated.... His culture is difficult to understand, so the only beneficial action is to advance him onward whether he is capable or not. This is when discrimination arises because the teacher is trying to see the Indian child in the sense of his own values.

Mrs. Defender urges, among other things, that

> The Indian children should study Indian life. Pictorially in the first and second grades. Indian legends will create in the fresh minds of our Indian children the beauty of his culture. The fourth up to the ninth grades should have books on Indian history and legends presented to them as a required subject, and as part of their citizenship, in the high school level.

Finally, she states:

> The present system of teaching must not be effective for the results are so apparent.... There is much illiteracy on the reservations when there is no need. The difficulty does not lie in the lack of funds, but in the function of the educational system.

The Ad Hoc Committee on California Indian Education, the nation's leading organization in the field of Indian education, has advocated sweeping changes in its publication California Indian Education (1967). Essentially it has called for intensive Indian parental involvement in the control and operation of the schools, the inclusion of Indian history, culture, and languages in the curriculum,

the development of Indian-supervised programs at the college level, and extensive special training programs for teachers of Indian pupils.

Mexican-American leaders, gathered together at the Southwest Conference on "Social and Educational Problems of Rural and Urban Mexican-American Youth" (Occidental College, April 6, 1963), urged among other things:

> (1) Bilingual children, or those whose cultural heritage is different from that of the broader community, must have special understanding and specialized course offerings in order that they may have successful learning experiences;
>
> (2) the child's home vernacular (Spanish) should be considered a linguistic asset and not a 'language' handicap;
>
> (3) schools should teach both English and Spanish in the elementary grades, [and
>
> (4) that the school develop] a program to stimulate greater pride and understanding of the cultural heritage of the Mexican-American child.

From San Francisco to New York many Black parents and community leaders are still campaigning for integrated schools, where feasible, but Black people are seeking "Black Education" everywhere. The programs being proposed vary from region to region but usually include a demand for course-work in Black American and African history, greater use of material illustrating Afro-American life and culture, Black principals in at least some schools, and greater participation in overall school planning. In some areas, such as New York, Black parents have been demanding virtual control of their "own schools, in a manner similar to the wishes of many American Indians.

Theoretically, public education in the United States is "democratic" and responsive to community needs. In fact, however, the Anglo-American has come to control the schools almost everywhere, either because of numerical superiority in a school district, gerrymandering of seats on the school board, control of the state educational apparatus, or simply because of the power and influence of the Anglo educational establishment. American Indian children either go to schools controlled by a federal bureaucracy or by local white school boards. Blacks are either barred from control over their "own" schools by state action, as in parts of the South, or are a minority in a large metropolitan school district. Mexican-Americans are in a position similar to the urban Black, except in rural areas of the Southwest where they are, as of yet, submissive even when in a numerical majority. And the same is true of most other minority groups: most educators are not obligated, powerwise, to serve their interests, and the non-Anglos have little voice in educational affairs. New York State Education Commissioner, James E. Allen, Jr., has frankly asserted that "most state education departments are geared to meet the needs of rural (white) children rather than those of big city slum areas because of the past or orientation of state educational and legislative organs (The New York Times, November 28, 1966, p. 1)."

But Anglo-American educators and school trustees can no longer afford to ignore the demands of the culturally different. The "social dynamite" represented by dissident, undereducated groups can explode

in such a manner as to harm the interests of even the powerful and the affluent. Thus self-interest demands that educators seek out ways to motivate minority group children and the path to motivation would seem to travel through the realm of mutual respect and intercultural understanding.

General Principles for Educational Program Development

I would propose the following set of propositions as fundamental bases for corrective action:

(1) Each school must be responsive to the needs and interests of all of the communities which it serves;

(2) All sectors of the population must have a voice in educational planning and policy-making;

(3) The school must concentrate upon essential learning and dispense with irrelevant attacks upon the cultural values of minority groups;

(4) Freedom, tolerance, and cosmopolitanism must above all be exhibited by school people as an example for the youth and adults of the community;

(5) The cultural assets of all of the communities and the skills of minority group persons should be utilized as a positive educational force by the school (e.g., mariachi music taught in the school by local Mexican musicians);

(6) The curricula of our schools should vary from region to region in order to reflect the rich diversity of American life;

(7) Bilingualism should be regarded as not merely an asset, but as a necessity in the twentieth century, and all pupils should be expected to master at least two languages in the elementary grades (Spanish and English in the Southwest and New York City; Chinese and English or Japanese and English and Spanish in the San Francisco Bay area, et cetera); and

(8) All teachers and administrators be required to receive training of an anthropological-sociological nature and be expected to possess or acquire the linguistic skills necessary for communication with local students and their parents.

What would the implementation of these general principles mean in practice? It would mean that no longer could Sioux or Navajo children be "processed" at the whim of federal officials who ignore local community desires, or be "taught" by monolingual English-speaking teachers bent on destroying the cultural heritage of native Americans. It would mean that schools serving Mexican-American pupils could have a Mexican flavor and a flourishing bi-lingual atmosphere. It would mean that Black ghetto schools would have an Afro-American dimension, from mosaics on the walls to, very possibly, formal instruction in urban Black dialect and advanced courses in Swahili, Yoruba, or Arabic. No more identical structures of cement and steel without character, and no more mass-production of a single culture and language under the guidance of educators conforming one to another as two peas in a pod! We need to render impossible the kind of situation described by Dianne Gannon (Liberation, July, 1966):

> The Harlem child comes to school and discovers that the school is not about life as he knows it at all. It doesn't have pictures of the kinds of people he knows. It doesn't help him develop the skills he needs for the world in which he lives.... The world of school is irrelevant at best. It forces an alien linguistic and learning style on him, and if he cannot make the adjustment of being one person in school and another in Harlem, it abandons him to the street.... The school is a harshly foreign institution, and the Harlem child reacts pretty much like the Indian child at the government school, or like a conquered people. School is a waiting game, an endurance contest.

Moshe Smilansky, writing in the Saturday Review (October 15, 1966) on Israel, states that for educational programs aimed at the "culturally deprived" to succeed two conditions are necessary: "The child must have a clear picture of the meaning of the school, and the home must give its support to the school." He goes on to add that:

> For the home to be able to give its support to the school, the school must: (a) accept the home as a home; (b) try to understand and support its particular functions; (c) not try to change the home or to undermine it; and (d) seek a union with the home at the point of common concern - the successful progress of the child in school." (Italics added.)

School people in the United States, if they intend to deal successfully with education of the culturally different must abandon their irrelevant attack upon the culture of these populations. The function of our public schools should be to help individuals develop their own potentiality for self-realization and not to serve as an instrument for semi-coercive culture change. The educational goal and the culture change goal ("assimilation") are fundamentally contradictory and antagonistic. To concentrate upon forcing change is to create the kind of withdrawal, hostility, and alienation described earlier, and learning of a desirable sort will usually cease.

The advocacy of a new approach to education has now been taken up at the highest levels, as in the following statement made by U. S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II in May 1968 before an audience concerned with Mexican-American education:

You are more familiar than I with the Mexican-American cultural factors that impede a youngster's transition from home to school. But I would say that the notion of Anglo-cultural superiority--over which youngsters and their parents have no control--is a much larger factor. Until the schools realize how our society projects this conviction of superiority, this cowboy-and-Indians mentality, and takes positive steps to correct it, they will not truly succeed with Mexican-American children. Some schools are taking positive steps that have shown promise of redeeming Mexican-American children from the near-certainty of educational failure. They emphasize a bi-cultural, bilingual approach which says, in essence, that Mexican-American children must learn the English language and Anglo ways--but that they can do so without having to reject their knowledge of the Spanish language and of Mexican-American ways.

Some of these projects go farther. They suggest that maybe it is not a bad idea for Anglo children to learn Spanish, and to gain a familiarity with another culture. This idea has all sorts of good sense to recommend it. First of all, the evidence is clear that people learn languages best if they learn them young. It is rather paradoxical that in the southwest, some elementary schools have forbidden children to speak Spanish, while at the same time many of our secondary schools require students to learn another language-- and Spanish is one of the most popular electives. Mexican-American children offer their Anglo classmates a great natural teaching resource. It is time we stopped wasting that resource and instead enable youngsters to move back and forth from one language to another without any sense of difficulty or strangeness. (Report on Education of the Disadvantaged, v.I, no. 4, May 15, 1968, p.12)

Democracy and Multi-Culturalism

The argument for culturally heterogeneous schools is not totally dependent upon pedagogical needs, however. Any society which gives a high value to democracy and individual freedom cannot consistently utilize the school as an instrument of enforced culture change. What kind of a democracy would utilize public schools to suppress the heritage of a minority simply because it is a minority (or because it lacks power)? What kind of a free society can use the schools as a means to diminish individual freedom and enforce conformity?

Transmitting the Full Heritage of Americans

Finally, and perhaps most significantly of all, creating a system of mass-produced monocultural schools is not merely damaging to the self-confidence and self-knowledge of students drawn from the various cultural and racial minority groups. Majority group pupils are being cheated in our schools when they master only one language, when they learn about only one side of American history, when they are exposed to only one musical tradition, when they read only one kind of literature, when they learn only one approach to the visual arts, and when they are exposed to a curriculum which has no deep roots in the soil of their region and in America (Roots which should extend back 20,000 years, as well as back to St. Augustine and Santa Fe, New Orleans, and Vincennes).

Is it foolish to suggest that all American students should be expected to do what every Navajo child in the elementary grades is expected to do, i.e., thoroughly master a new language? And why not a second new language in the secondary grades? Is it naive to think that pupils in the Southwest should become thoroughly immersed in the Indian-Spanish-Mexican heritage of that region, or that pupils in Louisiana should be given special access to an understanding of the Indian-French-African heritage of that state?

The problem of educating the culturally different is, then, the problem of educating all pupils in such a way that the school is both relevant to the individual and to the full heritage of the region and of the nation. True education is always cross-cultural and always cosmopolitan. Perhaps we have now arrived at a stage of sophistication sufficient to allow us to proceed with education and to dispense with a fixation upon conformity and Anglo-American superiority. But if this is the case, it will demand a radical change in the fundamental orientation of most schools, and this in turn will demand intensive analysis, experimentation, demonstration, and leadership on the part of innovative educational agencies.

Suggestions for Personnel Training Programs

Much of the above discussion serves to illustrate the importance of having school personnel in minority schools who are trained

especially for interacting with culturally different adults and pupils. It is now widely recognized that teachers need special training for working with minority pupils. One research study revealed that

> middle-class youngsters who have apathetic teachers are less affected than are poor children of lower-class neighborhoods who have such teachers.... Revolutionary revisions in techniques of instruction and teacher recruitment, selection, and preparatory programs appear to be necessary.... (study of 212 teachers and their pupils in 52 schools carried out by Albert H. Yee under a USOE grant. Education U.S.A.,November 17, 1966, p. 72).

The Peace Corps, faced with the problem of training personnel for working with culturally different groups has made many changes as a result of criticisms made by early volunteers. "We have moved away from the traditional college classroom approach and into field programs which attempt (over a fourteen week period) to re-create the conditions volunteers will be confronted with overseas" (Jack Vaughn, "The Peace Corps: Now We Are Seven," Saturday Review, January 6, 1968, p. 22).

A good professional training program should seek to develop an intensive training process which will involve the cooperation of non-white adults, institutions of higher education and other agencies. This training program should be designed to 1) acquaint the teacher with the theoretical background of working with culturally different and low-income pupils, 2) acquaint the teacher with the dynamics of social process, acculturation, and cross-cultural contacts, 3) make the teacher aware of the cultural and class assumptions and/or prejudices which he or she possesses, 4) thoroughly acquaint the teacher

with the general history and culture of particular minority group, 5) specifically acquaint the teacher with the particular local population's history, culture, and present situation, and 6) provide direct practical experience at working with minority adults and youth derived from that particular population.

It is especially important to stress that any such training program should be under the over-all direction of the local minority wherever feasible and should, at a minimum, involve at least co-direction by the local community. With such an approach the training program should not only serve to bring about close parent-teacher relationships and realistic knowledge on the part of new staff, but it also should serve to provide the local community with a concrete role in the exercise of power relative to the educational system.

Suggestions for Teachers and Administrators

A. A school serving minority pupils should serve as a bridge between these students and the adult world which they will subsequently enter. This adult world will sometimes be Anglo in character, but more often it will be of a mixed culture. In any case, the school, if it is to be a bridge, must serve as a transitional experience and not as a sudden leap into a foreign set of values and practices.

Additionally, most non-European American minorities live within the margins of a society which has treated them in a rather

discriminatory manner for one hundred years, and more terribly still, has attempted (consciously or otherwise) to instill in them a sense of inferiority. The school must address itself to the task of bolstering the self-image of such pupils and adults in order to overcome the psychological effects of a century of conquest. This is a doubly difficult task in view of the continuing reality of life in the United States, but it must be undertaken as a central function of any school serving minority groups.

For all of the above reasons such a school needs to develop a set of strategies, in close collaboration with the local minority community, which will make the school truly belong to the people being served, rather than to the people who operate the school system.

The following are suggestions which hopefully will help to bring about such a change.

1. The school environment should reflect the local minority cultural heritages, subject, of course, to the desires of the local minority communities. Such character can be created by means of murals depicting aspects of these heritages, the erection of statues depicting outstanding leaders of minority ancestry, displays of arts and crafts, bulletin boards depicting brown, and/or black people and their accomplishments, and by the adoption of a name for the school which is relevant to the non-white past. The expense involved in the above will not necessarily be great, as adults in the local community might well become involved in projects which would have the effect of making the school "their" school.

2. Teachers and administrators in such a school should be familiar with the dialect spoken in the pupil's home and should be encouraged to utilize this language wherever appropriate in order to enhance communication both with pupils and with parents, and, more especially, to help develop a positive self-image on the part of minority people.

3. Imaginative administrators and teachers may wish to further linguistic development by using the local non-English language as an early means for introducing language concepts and for developing bi-dialectical skills.

4. If a second language or dialect of English is widely spoken in the area, an "English as a second language" technique may well prove advantageous in English instruction.

5. Where the local community is interested, an American Indian, African, or Asian language might be offered along with, or in place of, European languages at the secondary level. The United States needs persons able to speak most such languages and even less significant tongues are useful in disciplines such as anthropology and linguistics.

6. Supplementary materials utilized in the classroom, as well as library resources, should include numerous brown and black-oriented items (magazines, newspapers, books, phonograph records, films, et cetera), in order to provide cross-cultural experiences for all pupils and to provide an atmosphere relevant to the non-white pupil's heritage.

7. Every effort should be made to acquaint pupils and visiting parents with the rich literature now available pertaining to non-white America. Many techniques are useful, including a permanent display case near the main entrance to the school, a paperback library operated by students or parents, a paperback bookstore, and an extensive use of supplementary soft-cover books as a part of regular classwork. Books by minority authors should be given special prominence, as in a display case where photographs of the author can be placed next to the book being exhibited.

8. Curricula in the school should possess multi-ethnic dimensions wherever appropriate. In social science courses where the development of the western United States is being discussed, for instance, full attention should be given to the Indian side of our history, and to Mexican-American, Afro-American, and Asian American developments. Courses in minority history should also be offered.

9. Courses in literature should include readings in the literature of non-white Americans (in translation, if necessary).

10. Curricula in music and "music appreciation" should give attention to all classes of non-European music, including pre-European contact styles and music of recent origin whether from the United States, elsewhere in the Americas, or Africa and Asia. In many schools instruction in non-European musical forms might well replace or supplement the standard band and orchestra classes, in order to provide a mechanism for enriching contemporary music.

11. The dance would appear to be an area where many young Black and Brown students can readily contribute to the enrichment of a school's program. American Indian, Mexican, African, and Asian dance styles should be included in any dance curriculum, along with other forms of the art.

12. Arts and crafts courses should acquaint all pupils with the non-white arts of the Americas and should provide a close tie-in with the various folk movements in existence.

13. American Indian, Black, Mexican, and Asian cooking should be available as a part of the school's programs in home economics wherever sufficient interest exists, and non-European foods should be served in the cafeteria.

14. Since one of the primary objectives of educators should be the linking of the school with the local adult community, it follows that minority adults and youth should be involved in the life of the school as resource people, supplementary teachers, teacher's aides, and special occasion speakers.

    Additionally, local advisory committees should be asked to help develop policy either for a neighborhood school or for a minority-oriented cultural enrichment program in a district-wide or regional school. No elements of non-white culture should be introduced into any school without the active participation of local minority people in the development of the program.

15. Our non-European cultural heritages, whenever brought into the school, should be treated as integral and valuable parts of our common legacy, and not as bits of "exotica" to be used solely for the benefit of brown and black pupils. It should be stressed that the local historical heritages of many regions are almost wholly Indian or Mexican prior to the last century.

16. In a school composed of students from diverse cultural backgrounds every effort should be made to bring a little of each culture into the school. A part of this effort might involve incorporating each major ethnic celebration into the school routine (focusing on Chinese-Americans at Chinese New Year, Mexican-Americans during Cinco de Mayo, Blacks during "Negro History Week", American Indians during a period of local celebration as at harvest time, et cetera).

17. School personnel should receive special training in minority culture and history and should have some background in anthropology and/or sociology. It may well be that school personnel hired for employment in schools serving minorities should have several weeks of intensive pre-service training in cross-cultural dynamics not unlike that received by Peace Corps and VISTA trainees. Such training should actively involve persons from the local community to be served. [See Recommendations for Personnel Training Programs].

18. A school serving a non-white community should become closely identified with the aspirations of the local community and should function, in so far as is possible, within the framework of the local culture. This may call for much reorientation on the part of middle class school personnel, whether of white or non-white ancestry. It will also call for a revamping of the curricula so that course content deals with the real world perceived daily by the children. For example, courses in United States Government should describe the manner in which political action actually takes place and not an idealized version of what might be the case in some non-existent utopia. Perhaps one appropriate manner in which to teach governmental concepts might involve training secondary level students as community organizers or community service workers.

19. School personnel who believe that it is important to examine pupils periodically in order to provide data on "ability" for future counseling or "tracking" should wish to obtain accurate information by the use of tests which are relatively unbiased. It is difficult to ascertain the potential of dialect-speaking youth by means of standard English-language tests, nor can that of low-income students be predicted on the basis of tests oriented toward middle-class paraphenalia or concepts. On the other hand, biased tests will substantially predict the formal achievement level of culturally different or low-income pupils attending biased schools. Therefore, a change in tests will accomplish little unless accompanied by changes in the school, which serve to realize and enhance the potential revealed by the new test.

20. Maximum use should be made of techniques which are designed to enhance self-concept and involve the community in the life of the school, including the use of parent teaching aides, older pupils as tutors for younger pupils, and college students of minority background as para-professional counselors.

21. Most brown-skinned and black-skinned persons suffer psychologically to some degree from the common tendency to exalt light skin and blondeness in the United States. The use of periodicals, films, books, et cetera, which are of non-white origin should be useful in combating the above whether the materials are produced in the United States or not. East Indian, Latin American, and Japanese items might be especially useful in this connection.

B. The above suggestions are basically designed to change the atmosphere of the school so as to provide greater motivation for all concerned, as well as to impart useful knowledge. In addition, many curricular and methodological innovations are available which are expected to improve learning for all students and these new programs should certainly be made available to minority youngsters. It is to be suspected, however, that a school which is basically indifferent or hostile toward the local minority cultures will not succeed in stimulating greater learning merely by the use of methodological innovations unaccompanied by a change in the general orientation of the school.

C. Attention should be given to non-white history and culture in all schools, regardless of ethnic composition. Anglo-American young people grow up in a "never-never" land of mythology as regards non-whites, and it is crucial for our society's future that damaging myths be exposed and eliminated. We must bear in mind that the "white problem in America", the tendency of

Anglo-Americans for three centuries to exploit and denigrate non-whites, is probably still the major hurdle blocking the advancement of brown and black Americans. White young people, growing up in a mythic world of prejudice against non-whites and knowing little of brown contributions, may well, as adults, frustrate many of the goals of educational programs directly involving minority pupils.

The multi-cultural reality of American life and history should be a part of every school's curriculum.

D. In many urban and rural settings it may be that the creation of "Community Education Centers" in place of age-segregated secondary, continuation, and adult schools will contribute to the solution of a number of problems. Many communities lack sufficient facilities for "adult education," have essentially unsatisfactory "continuation schools" for their most difficult students, and experience serious discipline and motivation problems in the ordinary secondary schools.

For the above reasons, it is herein suggested that appropriate secondary schools be transformed into multi-purpose "educational centers" for the total community which they serve, after the pattern of the junior college. To eliminate the segregated "teenage" and "adult" schools, to add to the total educational resources of a community, and to improve school-community relations, the following specific changes in secondary schools are suggested:

1. Open up all classes in the regular day program to any student regardless of age, who might benefit from the class.
2. Open up all evening "adult" classes to any student, regardless of age, and develop evening programs where none exist.
3. Combine the regular day and evening programs, along with new late afternoon and Saturday classes, into a continuous day program.
4. Provide a nursery and a pre-school so that mothers of small children may enroll for classes.
5. Provide a social lounge and center, perhaps in a partially used basement area, to be decorated by the students and kept open until 10:00 P.M.
6. Provide areas, if space is available, for sewing centers, et cetera, for adults as well as youth.
7. Utilize teenage students as much as possible in working with the nursery, pre-school, and other projects, so as to provide opportunities for the development of self-confidence and other desirable qualities.
8. Abolish all age-grading systems, so that each class consists of students capable of doing the work regardless of age.
9. Allow older teenagers to carry a part-time load and still remain involved in the school's program.
10. Encourage work-experience programs.
11. Encourage the teachers, parents, adult and "regular" students to elect an advisory board to develop school policy, innovations, and enrichment experiences.
12. Alter the curriculum and orientation of the school so as to make it fully relevant to the language, culture, and desires of the community served.
13. Conduct a series of intensive community-teacher workshops to develop a full awareness of the contributions which both groups can make, and of the character and social dynamics of the local community.

Accompanying the opening up of classes to all and their extension into the evening hours and to weekends should also be the following:

1. The development of an adequate bookstore in each school, making available a significant proportion of current educational paperbound books and periodicals;

2. Allowing instructors to offer at least one seminar-type course each semester, perhaps on a topic of their choice, but with the approval of their faculty colleagues and based upon community relevance;

3. Allowing instructors to establish their own class schedules, using the extended day period and Saturday if so desired, subject primarily to the approval of their faculty colleagues.

4. Encouraging faculty to keep abreast of new knowledge in their fields by providing scholarships which would enable teachers to take additional subject-matter course work or pursue research-literature review interests during the non-teaching months.

In summary, it seems a shame indeed that in many urban and isolated rural areas where non-scholastics are in obvious need of the opportunity for additional secondary-level schooling, the only schools in their areas or neighborhoods capable of meeting these needs arbitrarily restrict themselves to certain kinds of potential students or segregate by age-groups and thereby diminish the educational opportunities of all concerned.

The physical facilities and most of the personnel needed for community education centers are already available. All that is needed now is a willingness to experiment and innovate.

Bibliographical Essay

I. Sources on the Education of Culturally Different and Low-Income Groups

The educational problems posed by culturally different and low-income populations are neither uniquely confined to the United States nor to this century. Virtually all complex societies have possessed heterogeneous populations, beginning with the cosmopolitan, multi-lingual empires of the mediterranean-mesopotamian-Indian subcontinent region. In ancient times Buddhist teachers, to cite one example of early cross-cultural education, traveled throughout south and east Asia, encountering many diverse languages and cultures. Similarly, low-income populations have frequently possessed their own viable educational systems (as in Vietnam before the French conquest) or have participated in successful mass education programs (as in the great period of Islamic civilization prior to the fifteenth century).

At the present time most of the world's nation-states possess cultural and linguistic minorities, including Great Britain, France, Spain, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, China, India, Mexico, New Zealand, and Canada (to name but a few). Most such states also possess low-income groups.

Ideally, a guide to studies in the area of the education of culturally different and low-income groups should be international and comparative in approach, but little is available at this time

which transcends national or even sub-national ethnic boundaries. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) does publish items such as World Survey of Education and the International Yearbook of Education, as well as monographs on particular topics. Catalogues or lists of material available from UNESCO can be obtained from UNESCO Publications Center, 317 East 34th Street, New York 10016.

Information or possibly bibliographies may be obtained from countries such as New Zealand (Maori education), Mexico (bi-lingual education for native groups), and Israel (programs for low-income and culturally different groups) by writing to their respective ministries of education.

Bibliographies are more readily available for studies conducted in the United States. Elinor F. McCloskey's Urban Disadvantaged Pupils (Northwest Regional Laboratory, 710 S. W. Second Ave., Portland, Oregon) contains a list of ninety-nine studies and books dealing primarily with the education of low-income urban pupils. The United States Office of Education, Educational Materials Center, has available The Education of Disadvantaged Children: A Bibliography. This bibliography is not exhaustive but it does contain lists of some of the professional studies available as well as teacher guides and reports published by local school districts and state departments of education.

The Harvard Research and Development Center on Educational Differences has published an Annotated Bibliography on School Racial

Mix and the Self Concept, Aspirations, Academic Achievement and Interracial Attitudes and Behavior of Negro Children (Monograph No. 3, Harvard Research and Development Center on Educational Differences, Cambridge, Massachusetts). This is a valuable compilation of educational research pertinent to Negro education along with relevant socio-psychological studies. The Research Annual on Inter-Group Relations (Anti-Defamation League) also is a good source of information relating to minority group research currently in progress.

Several bibliographies of research reports and books dealing with American Indian education, and therefore relevant to the education of all culturally different populations, have been issued. One, prepared by the staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is being distributed by the National Research Conference on American Indian Education, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania (this is a limited quantity publication and large numbers of copies may not be available). Another was prepared by Harry F. Wolcott of the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon (this is likewise a limited quantity publication).

Urban Education, an Annotated Bibliography together with Supplement I has been issued by Project True, Hunter College, New York (1963). Integrated Education Associates, Chicago, Illinois, has published Meyer Weinberg's Research on School Desegregation: Review and Prospect which summarizes research as of 1965 pertinent

to the subjects of segregation and integration. The Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged, Yeshiva University, New York has issued a bibliography relating to the "disadvantaged" (IRCD Bulletin 1, September, 1965).

Miles V. Zintz' Education Across Cultures (Brown Book Co., Dubuque, Iowa) contains an extensive bibliography of books and articles pertinent to the education of minority and low-income groups while Jack D. Forbes' Mexican-Americans: A Handbook for Educators (Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, Berkeley, California) adds a few additional items relating to Mexican-American education. Forbes' Afro-Americans in the Far West: A Handbook for Educators possesses an extensive bibliography on black Americans. Other works dealing with minority group education will normally also possess bibliographies of value.

Many Journals contain articles and book reviews pertinent to this area, including Human Organization, Current Anthropology, Social Problems, Social Issues, Social Forces, The Urban Review, UNESCO Courier, Journal of Negro Education, Journal of American Indian Education, Sociology and Social Research, Integrated Education, Journal of Human Relations, Phylon, and Journal of Sociology of Education, in addition to standard educational periodicals and publications such as Daedalus and Saturday Review. The vast amount of research data being accumulated in this area will ultimately be available in a more manageable form from ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center). Currently available is a monthly summary of educational research

projects supported by Office of Education funds (Research in Education) and Catalog of Selected Documents on the Disadvantaged: A Number and Author Index (OE-37001, 65¢) and Subject Index (OE-37002, $3). The latter two items are available from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

The several published bibliographies cited above are, taken together, quite comprehensive. The reader may wish also to consult works referenced in the section which follows in order to obtain insight into the educational problems resulting from coercive or rapid culture change induced by conquest.

II. Sources Dealing With the Effects of Conquest, Colonialism and Culture Change

Educators who desire a full understanding of the complexities involved in the position of the non-white populations in the United States will wish to acquire some familiarity with the effects of conquest, colonialism, and culture change occuring within colonial or quasi-colonial contexts. Not only will an understanding of post-conquest and decolonialization phenomena provide a fuller comprehension of many aspects of non-white cultures, but it will help to provide insight into the ideological basis for much of the "revolutionary" strategy currently popular among urban black radicals, (e.g., the idea that violence or violent struggle is a necessary step in the psychological liberation of a colonialized people).

Basic to an understanding of black radical thinking is Frantz

Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1966). Fanon, born in Martinique of African background and trained in France as a doctor specializing in mental disorders, joined the Algerian rebels rather than serve with the French army. He literally gave his life to the cause of Algerian independence, dying of cancer at the age of thirty-six in 1961. The Wretched of the Earth, which provides an understanding of the psychological as well as socio-political effects of conquest and "national liberation" processes, was written in Fanon's last year of life. It should be read prior to reading the preface by Jean-Paul Sartre, in this writer's opinion, since Sartre somewhat distorts Fanon's message.

Other sources useful in terms of introducing a person to this area of study include:

Balandier, Georges, Ambiguous Africa: Cultures in Collision (New York: Pantheon, 1966). A specialist in African sociology explores the problems of decolonialization, revealing in the process many of the effects of conquest.

Forbes, Jack D., The Indian in America's Past (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964). Includes chapters, such as "The Conquered" and "Red Slavery," which illustrate some of the effects of conquest and colonialization.

Frazier, E. Franklin, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965). A basic introduction to modern interethnic relations involving conquest and colonialism. Frazier's footnotes will guide the reader to many other sources.

Josephson, Eric and Mary, editors, Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society (New York: Dell, 1962). Deals with many aspects of alienation including that resulting from inter-ethnic confrontations.

Kardiner, Abram and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression (New York: Norton, 1951). Explores the psychological effects of denigration.

Maunier, Rene, The Sociology of Colonies (London, Routledge & Paul, 1949).

Memmi, Albert, The Colonizer and the Colonized (New York: Orion Press, 1965).

Price, A. Grenville, White Settlers and Native Peoples (Cambridge: University Press, 1950). A comparative study of European-native relations in such areas as North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

Turnbull, Colin, The Lonely African (New York: Anchor, 1962). An excellent portrayal of the effects of conquest as revealed in a number of life-histories.

More technical interests may be served by the following works, dealing with acculturation and culture change.

Malinowski's many studies and especially The Dynamics of Culture Change; Beal's "Acculturation" (in Kroeber, Anthropology Today); Hunter's Reaction to Conquest: Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa; Rivers' Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia; Herskovitz' various works including Acculturation: A Study of Culture Contact; Redfield's The Primitive World and Its Transformations (and his specific studies of the Maya); and Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa.

During the last two decades a large body of literature relating to socio-cultural change and mental illness has developed. Much of this literature is theoretical in nature or is based upon insights gained in clinical psychology or in socio-anthropological field studies. Of the more general works relating to this subject, the following are cited to illustrate this growing body of literature: the many studies of Wallace including his general Culture and

Personality and his more technical "Stress and Rapid Personality Changes" (International Record of Medicine, v. 169, 1956), "Revitalization Movements" (American Anthropologist, v. 58, 1956), and "Mazeway Disintegration: The Individual's Perception of Sociocultural Disorganization" (Human Organization, v. 16, 1957); Leighton, Clausen and Wilson, Explorations in Social Psychiatry; Ruesch, et al, "Acculturation and Illness" (Psychological Monographs, v. 62, 1948); Beaglehele, "Cultural Complexity and Psychological Problems" (in Mullahy, A Study of Interpersonal Relations); Benedict, "Mental Illness in Primitive Societies" (Psychiatry, v. 17, 1954); Thompson, "Attitudes and Acculturation" (American Anthropologist, v. 50, 1948); Mead's "The Implications of Culture Change for Personality Development" American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, v. 17, 1947) and various other studies; Hallowell's "Values, Acculturation and Mental Health" (American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, v. 20, 1950) and other articles; Kardiner's several works; Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change; Linton's The Cultural Background of Personality and Culture and Mental Disorders; Malzberg, Migration and Mental Disease; Kluckhohn and Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and Culture; and M. K. Opler's Culture, Psychiatry and Human Values and other works.

A number of specific studies are referred to or reported upon in the above sources, but others are contained in such works as Opler's Culture and Mental Health. Many monographic articles and books are also pertinent--they range from Caudill, "Japanese-American Personality and Acculturation" (Genetic Psychology Monographs, v. 45,

1952), and Tooth, Studies in Mental Illness in the Gold Coast; to Bakke, Citizens Without Work.

Studies of "alienation" are often relevant to socio-cultural change, as for example, Erikson, "Identity and Uprootedness in Our Time" (in Uprooting and Resettlement), and "Symposium of Alienation and the Search for Identity" (American Journal of Psychoanalysis, v. 21, 1961).

Socio-psychological studies of native American peoples may also be pertinent. Spicer's Cycles of Conquest is of value in dealing with acculturation, conquest, and resistance to conquest. Also of import to those desiring a comparative knowledge of the socio-psychological effects of conquest-induced culture change are such works as Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navaho; Macgregor, Warriors Without Weapons; Linton, editor, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes; Redfield's "Culture Change in Yucatan" (American Anthropologist, v. 36, 1934) and other studies; Hallowell, "Ojibwa: Personality and Acculturation" (Proceedings, International Congress of Americanists, v. 29, 1952); Wallace, "Some Psychological Determinants of Culture Change in an Iroquoian Community" (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 149, 1951); and Spindler, editor, Socio-cultural and Psychological Processes in Menominee Acculturation.

JACK D. FORBES is the author of APACHE, NEVAHO AND SPANIARD (1960), THE INDIAN IN AMERICA'S PAST (1964), WARRIORS OF THE COLORADO: THE YUMAS OF THE QUECHAN NATION AND THEIR NEIGHBORS (1965), MEXICAN-AMERICANS: A HANDBOOK (1967), NEVADA INDIANS SPEAK (1967), AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE FAR WEST (1967), and NATIVE AMERICANS OF CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA: A HANDBOOK (1968). He is also the author of numerous articles on minority group history and culture and is himself of Powhatan Indian descent. Dr. Forbes has taught at the University of Southern California, Citrus College, San Fernando Valley State College, and the University of Nevada, and has held research fellowships from the Social Science Research Council and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.